



INDUSTRIAL WORKERS
OF THE WORLD



INDUSTRIAL WORKER

★ EDUCATION ★ ORGANIZATION ★ EMANCIPATION

VOLUME 81, NUMBER 8, WN 1455

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, AUGUST 1984

25 CENTS

Class

A mass picket of 4,000 workers from all over Toledo, Ohio fought a pitched battle with police on May 21st in a bid to shut down the AP Parts Company, where 400 members of UAW Local 14 have been on strike since May 2nd. Of the 41 persons arrested during the battle, only three were AP workers; the rest were from places like the Deep Corporation, GM Hydramatic, and Chrysler. Workers in Toledo know that if the bosses succeed in breaking the union at AP, they'll be next.

The strike began following two months of constant harassment and humiliation by AP management. When the old contract expired in early March, workers voted to stay on the job, knowing that the company was prepared for a strike. In fact the company's final offer was designed to provoke a walkout: demands for cuts in wages and benefits of \$5.84 an hour; an end to the 30-and-out retirement clause; gutting of seniority; forced overtime; and so on. At the same time they made this offer, the company hired a strike-breaking security outfit called Nuchols Incorporated, installed a guardhouse on the roof, put up floodlights, built a second fence around the plant, and began moving machinery to its non-union operation in North Carolina.

On March 6th AP implemented its final offer and began its campaign of intimidation and provocation. After two months of struggle on the job, the workers walked out.

After the police riot of May 21st and the outpouring of solidarity from workers throughout Toledo, AP are more determined to carry on the struggle. "There's gonna be more trouble around here for sure," said AP worker Harold Cusino. "We can't stay out here doing nothing. We're getting nowhere. The solidarity shown in the self-mobilization of 4,000 workers on May 21st is the best sign of the determination of all workers in Toledo to defeat the employers' offensive. Let's hope this spirit spreads."

M. H.



Occupiers of the EGSA Coke bottling plant in Guatemala City greet the announcement of the settlement reached May 27th between their union and the Coke Company, ending their heroic 115-day occupation of the plant.

INDUSTRIAL WORKER BACK IN CHICAGO

The General Executive Board has voted to return production of the *Industrial Worker* to Chicago until the IWW Convention this September. This issue is the first to be produced in Chicago. All copy and correspondence should be sent to: Industrial Worker, 3435 North Sheffield, Chicago, Illinois 60657, until further notice.

War in Toledo



Toledo workers face tear gas in front of AP Parts plant on May 21.

Victory in Guatemala

Workers world-wide won a victory when the Coca-Cola Company and its subsidiary, Coca-Cola Interamerica Corporation, reached an agreement with STEGAC, the union of workers at the occupied Embotelladora Guatemalteca SA (EGSA) on May 27th. The agreement, in the form of letters of intent, put an end to the 115-day occupation of the bottling plant in Guatemala City by 460 workers protesting the closing of the plant by its owners, Antonio Zash and Roberto Mendez.

The cause of the Guatemalan Workers was taken up by the International Union of Food and Allied Workers (IUF), which organized an international boycott of Coke in an attempt to force the Company to take direct responsibility for the EGSA. In 1979 the IUF organized a similar campaign, resulting in a 1980 agreement with Coke in which the Company agreed to find new owners for the plant and guarantee the rights and safety of its workers. During the struggle for unionization of EGSA at least six local union leaders were murdered by right-wing death squads and other activists were "disappeared" or driven into exile.

The IUF campaign gained the support of unions in over 20 countries which organized boycotts, demonstrations, and work stoppages as well as writing letters of protest and solidarity. If it weren't for this international solidarity, it is likely that eventually the Military would have intervened and a massacre would have ensued. The

IWW was mentioned by the IUF as one of the unions that supported the struggle.

The settlement reached on May 27th in Costa Rica commits the Coca-Cola Company to finding a responsible buyer for EGSA; guaranteeing that the new owners will respect the rights of the work force and abide by the last collective agreement; substantially guaranteeing the employment of the remaining 350 workers (96 had accepted severance pay against the union's advice prior to the agreement); and guaranteeing the workers' income until the new owners take over and re-open the plant.

The settlement was not entirely favorable, however. Employment levels are tied to sales volume, so it is possible that up to 100 workers could be laid off if sales do not pick up within 60 days after the plant re-opens, though the workers are confident that the layoffs will be avoided. In addition, the union failed to gain control over company finances and production policies, and Coke refused to take over EGSA directly, guaranteeing its financial viability.

Although a settlement has been reached and the boycott lifted, the IUF urges all those who supported the campaign to keep pressure on Coke to see to it that the Company lives up to its side of the bargain, and to continue to hold Coke responsible for the rights and safety of the workers at EGSA.

Mike Hargis

Gettin' Around the Union

When I served last year as General Secretary of the IWW, I got to know lots of names of union members, and had correspondence with a bunch of people. But I was curious to know just who these fellow workers were. And it seemed that a good way to encourage Wobblies to stay in contact with each other, or form new contacts, was to hit the road myself. So I left South Deerfield, headed south, right after May Day.

I hitch-hiked the secondary roads down the Hudson and Delaware Rivers. The second day out I rolled into the farmland north of Philadelphia, and stayed that night with a horseshoer who had been an IWW member for six years or so. He was hungry for news and views, and had some of his own. While talking we came up with a draft for a questionnaire on IWW issues, which will get sent out in an upcoming internal bulletin. This might be just the ticket to allow members to express their opinions without having to vote on a referendum.

This fella took me into Philadelphia to meet the rest of the Wobs. The locals are all involved in community

issues, and I found this to be true all along the route: Nearly everyone put effort into the community newspaper, or tenants' associations, or anti-KKK work, or alternative energy, or activity within their union on the job. Disarmament was nearly a universal cause. In Philly I met a house painter, an auto mechanic, and a Wob who staffed a community-activist office.

One of my primary objectives was to get to Washington DC, making myself useful helping with the *Industrial Worker*. There are other Wobs in DC, too. I met carpenters, a movie projectionist, a social worker, a typesetter, a student, and one person interested in lending a hand in next fall's harvest drive in the Columbia River valley.

The hitching had been pretty good thus far, and it stayed that way. Four rides took me clear through Virginia and eastward into rural North Carolina, where I visited a Wob couple in Gates County. This is peanut and tornado country. Last March a twister tore through, leveling shacks and trailers. But it spared the nice brick home of the local Klan honcho. (Whose side is God on?)

(continued on Page 8)



The hot Summer days have returned for some time now, and things are not being alleviated by the profusion of hot air that we here at Stateside are being bombarded with this election year. If that wasn't side-show enough, there are the Olympics to take our minds off the harsh reality of life under our present mismanagement of the Earth we live on.

The big labor skates are telling us to vote in their chosen candidate and kick out the anti-labor bastard who is currently sitting in the not-so-White House. Where in Hell were they when the Working Stiff started getting the screws years ago? Those of you who are stiff-arteried enough to remember the days before the passing of the Taft-Hartley Act will remember that the piecemeal screamed like Hell but did little else than tell us to vote for the candidates that are "friendly" toward labor. Only one labor official, from of all places the bible-belt South, suggested a nationwide 24-hour work holiday as a warning to legislators who would pass anti-labor legislation.

Instead of being hailed as the genius that he should have been, however, he was quietly hush-hushed and all the other paupers bent over backward to assure the powers that be that they had no truck with such extreme ideas.

One might get the impression that there are more than the captains of industry who quake at the thought of workers showing their power by shutting the machinery down completely. Perhaps they are compensated now by having fewer dues-paying members whom they have to keep ledgers on or pay pensions out to.

Our beloved celluloid buckaroo, on a recent visit to the land of his ancestry, made a stirring plea for eventual peace in the northern sector of that land. His emotional pleas for tranquility, however, could not be heard above the roar of his guns in the Central American jungles by those who are dying because they are sick and tired of the kind of "democracy" that is being exported into their homeland.

To top it off, Ronnie's legislators have ruled that any aliens seeking asylum in Freedoland must prove they will face persecution if returned to their homeland. Having a reasonable fear is no longer enough. Fat chance any refugees from dictatorships being armed by the moguls of Freedoland will be able to convince Uncle Schlemiel that it's unhealthy to go back home. Maybe they can make it to the Canadian border, and there's always the Berlin Wall.

As of this writing, the latest flap is over the hostilities going on at the Persian Gulf. There's concern all over the World about the danger to oil shipments and the possible threat to the international oil supply, but what these dunderheads completely miss out on is that all that oil being spilt in the Gulf is killing off whatever sea life there is. Around the World enough salt water is being polluted with "peaceful" offshore drilling and unseaworthy tankers running aground, not to mention what's happening to all the freshwater streams.

There's a profusion of talk about the energy crisis in our increasingly energy-hungry World. The real crisis, however, is how are we going to survive as a species with the resources that we have? Is it necessary to endure jet lag just so you can go to another part of the World in a matter of hours when a boat trip of a few weeks would be a much more welcome release from the tedium? Is it necessary for every working stiff to worry about where he is going to park his car every day in streets slotted with tons of planned-obsolescence consumerism, when free public transportation could solve that problem, or better yet the decentralization of industry could enable each worker to walk to work? Decentralized industry would also have the advantage of having better control over or even eliminating pollution.

Our present society is based on the sale value of things rather than on their use value. There is no attempt to conserve on certain dwindling resources. Those in control of those resources are, in fact, happy to see them dwindle, as it gives them the excuse to bring the prices up even more. Those in control of the resources of this Earth do not even concern themselves about the future generations of their own class, and thus disqualify themselves from assuming such responsibility. They are indeed maniacs, and the rest of us are no less maniacs for allowing them absolute control over our lives.

Otherwise, your scribe hopes that the cockroaches will evolve a much better society than we two-legged creatures have.

C. C. Redcloud

Abolish the Wage System!

(Editor's note: What follows is the text of a speech delivered by Fellow Worker Larry Gambone at the April 1984 British Columbia Wobbly Conference discussion of "The IWW Preamble: 79 Years After...")

If the fashionable intellectuals of 20 years ago had read the Preamble, I'm sure that they would have dismissed it as the relic of an era, thanks to Keynes, long past. When you read the Preamble today, however, what strikes you most of all is how accurately it expresses the present-day reality. Not a single phrase is out of place.

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common.... abolish the wage system.... trade unions aid the employing class.... the centering of management into fewer hands...." All these are lessons that working people are having to re-learn after a generation or so of shopping malls and supposed class compromise. Once again workers are faced with the stark reality of this system, a reality of war and exploitation.

The Preamble is a fine *revolutionary* document, something very unique at a time that has seen the coming and going of a dozen "revolutionary" organizations all dedicated to patching up this or that aspect of the system. Who else calls for the abolition of the wage system? Yet this demand used to be the very essence of what was once called socialism, before that term came to be identified with statist bureaucratism.

Wobs should be proud of this little phrase and repeat it as some kind of proletarian mantra—perhaps others will pick it up and it will become a response to all the porkchoppers and reformists.

Getting rid of the wage system does not just mean getting rid of money, which the boss class seems to be trying to do with credit cards, but rather it means getting rid of the whole kit and kaboodle of commodity production—money, wages, prices, profits, ledgers—and the ending of the domination of the workers by the needs, structures, and ideologies of the commodity system, such as authoritarian management.

The Preamble's critique of trade unionism has never been more cogent, especially in light of the Solidarity sellout. If we had all gone out together, we might have won, instead of fighting rear-guard actions after the impetus of a mass movement had been dissipated.

I think it is important that the differences between the IWW and trade unionism be emphasized today, as they were in the Preamble of 79 years ago. Wobs are not just a redder (or blacker) version of the AFL-CIA-CLC unions. Rather, our industrial syndicalism is based on different principles, such as unity of all workers regardless of craft, delegation rather than representation, and a desire not just for a better slice but for the whole damn pie.

As this system goes down the tubes, more and more workers are going to be looking for alternatives, and they aren't going to want a slightly different version of what they've just been through. The events of the past 15 years in Europe prove this. Every time the class struggle has heated up over there, the workers have moved beyond simple trade unionism into syndicalist or workers'-council-type forms.

Hence, the Preamble, its ideas, and the ideas that can be developed from it are of utmost importance for our struggle. Let's read it, discuss it... and act on it!

PREAMBLE TO THE CONSTITUTION of the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries in fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever there is a strike or a lockout in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

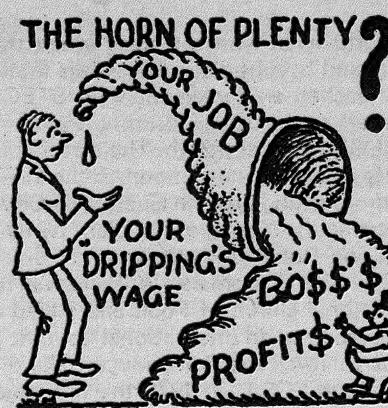
Instead of the conservative motto "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday fight with capitalists, but also to carry on production once capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

ATTENTION DELEGATES!

Attention IWW members planning to attend the Convention over the Labor Day weekend. The *Industrial Worker* would like to print area reports in the issue that will be coming out at the time of the Convention. This will allow members who cannot attend and readers of the *IW* the opportunity to see what the organization has been up to over the last year.

If you are planning on giving an area report at the Convention, all you have to do is write it down in advance and send us a copy. The final deadline for receipt of this copy is August 16th. Send all copy to us at 3435 North Sheffield, Chicago, Illinois 60657.



★EDUCATION ★ORGANIZATION ★EMANCIPATION

AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL
ONE UNION ONE LABEL ONE ENEMY

Industrial Worker

The *Industrial Worker* (ISSN 0019-8870) is the official organ of the Industrial Workers of the World, 3435 North Sheffield, Suite 202, Chicago, Illinois 60657, phone (312) 549-5045. It is owned entirely by the IWW, and is issued monthly. Second-class postage paid at Chicago. Unless designated as official policy, articles in the *Industrial Worker* do not necessarily represent the official position of the Industrial Workers of the World. No paid or commercial advertising ever accepted. The *Industrial Worker* is mailed without a wrapper to cut expenses, but a wrapper can be requested.

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Please send all copy to: *Industrial Worker*,
3435 North Sheffield, Chicago, Illinois 60657.
The deadline for all copy is the 10th of each month.

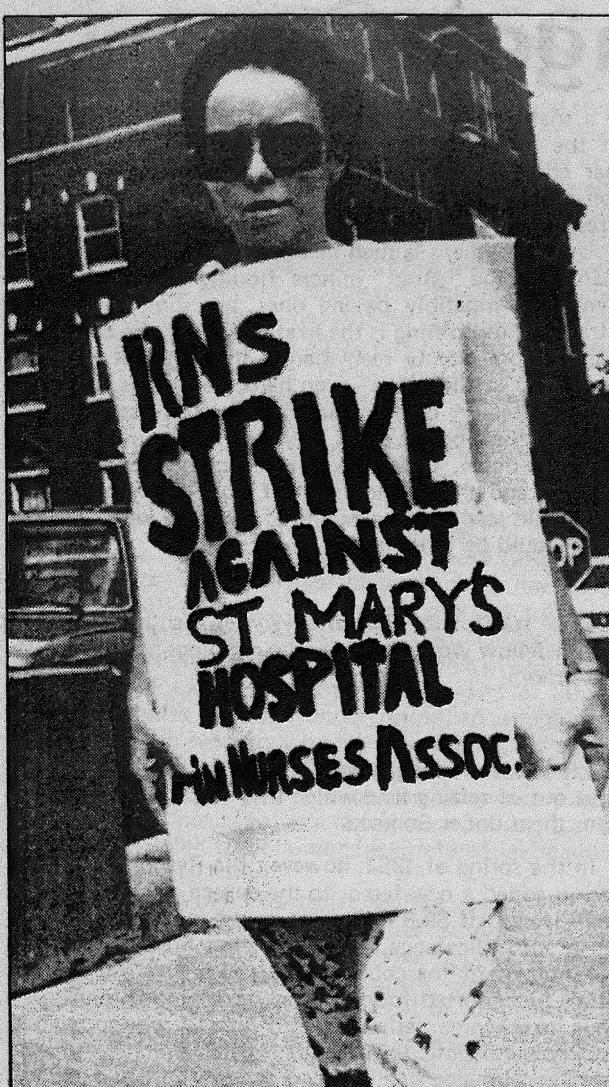


Photo for The Tribune by Larry Salzman via AP

One of the 6,000 striking members of the Minnesota Nurses Association walks the picket line outside St. Mary's Hospital in Minneapolis. Job security is the main issue in what could be a prolonged strike.

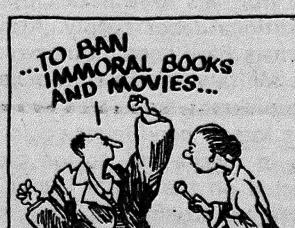
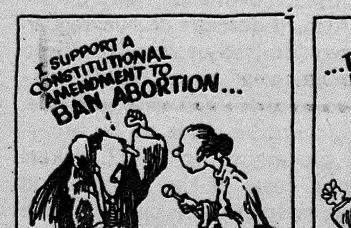
Coors Suds Head East

As sales in the western US continue to slide and profits decline due to the seven-year AFL-CIO boycott of its beer, the Adolph Coors Brewing Company continues to move eastward in hope of expanding its market. Coors beer, previously unavailable in the eastern half of the country, is rapidly making its way onto the shelves of stores throughout the Southeast, Mideast, and Midwest in its quest to become "transcontinental". Coors beer is now available throughout the western portion of the Kentucky-Ohio region, and has already been promoted heavily in such large metropolitan areas as the greater Cincinnati-Dayton market. With the boycott of its products much less publicized in the eastern US, Coors hopes to bolster boycott-reduced sales and profits by exploiting these "untainted" areas in places like Ohio where the mystique of its beer is legendary. But the boycott is not far behind it.

According to Wesley Wells, executive secretary of the Dayton-Miami Valley AFL-CIO, local AFL-CIO unions will begin the boycott in the Dayton area by passing out leaflets at factory gates and at eating establishments and beverage retailers, urging the proprietors not to sell the union-boycotted beer. The small contingent of local IWW members will aid in this local campaign, hoping to add to the educational force needed to make the boycott a success on the national as well as regional level while also providing union solidarity. The "mystique" of Coors beer in the East will be a tough illusion to break, but success will lie in making information available to the consuming public.

The formation of the Coors beer boycott was a response to the Company's vehement anti-labor and anti-union position, as exemplified by the strike and eventual decertification of the brewery workers in 1977 at Coors' lone plant in Colorado. But the labor problems associated with Coors are not limited to what now seems like the distant past of 1977. New bits of evidence as to Coors' and associates' anti-labor attitude continue to rise to the surface with alarming regularity.

Coors beer was recently introduced to the Dayton, Ohio area by the Kenny Anderson Beverage Company (KABC), whose principal owners are Kenny Anderson and Isaac Curtis, longtime standouts with the Cincinnati Bengals of the National Football League.



Fred Thompson's

labor in north america

Profitable careers are possible in the labor movement. Teamsters for a Democratic Union notes that Teamster president Jack Presser draws \$565,000 a year and is the highest-paid union official in the world. Such officers cost unions far more than their salaries: Under Government pressure insurance companies have so far paid back \$11 million of the \$14 million they milked from Teamster insurance funds. But the Government hesitates to prosecute Presser lest it block a valued source of info to the FBI.

Chicago schoolteachers (AFT) have re-elected Robert Healey as president, against some opposition. He tells them that they must plan to protect their interests without a strike this year; that teachers should be involved in plans to make better use of the schools; and that if there are teachers who can't teach, there should be more use of the three-year probation period to oust them, and more involvement of their fellow teachers in evaluation.

The City of Chicago told its hands they could join unions if they wanted to. The American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees gained about 3,000 new members there, and in separate elections that Cook County (including Chicago) has scheduled, the AFSCME competes in 36 of the 37 bargaining units that have been set up, the Service Employees in 14, and five other unions in a scattering of jobs.

Chicago-area Carpenters won an agreement from the Mid-America Regional Bargaining Association to add 50¢ to the present \$16.50 hourly rate over the next two years. This rate is expected to apply to the 3,000 independent contractors in the area.

The United Mine Workers have forged new three-year contracts giving 2,200 members in Western states almost uniform gains in wages, pensions, and insurance provisions. This year the UMW will select specific Eastern mines as targets at contract expiration in September instead of following the old practice of a nationwide strike, and the locals have been told to get ready, find places for strike-assistance activities (always "with two doors"), establish contact with "community-service agencies and other resource people" including "banks, businesses, and local utility companies", and elect a "local selective strike committee" to propose which targets should be picked—but stage no strikes unless authorized by the UMW president. Meanwhile, strike assessments pile up... and so does coal.

American miners have been keeping an eye on their British fellow workers via TV. They see them battle the police and miners who did not join their strike action under a union policy that lets various districts decide whether or not to join a strike. There the issue is the shutdown of less-efficient mines by the Government (which owns them). The conceivable gain is some better offer to the laid-off miners besides vague training for other jobs in an economy in which unemployment runs 12% and up. The obviously needed remedy: not more work, but re-organization of the economy to provide optimum real income with the smallest amount of work.

Tough strikes big and little: In Detroit, when Cooks and Waiters refused to let two big clubs end the 12% standard tip on the tab, the association of 22 private clubs locked out 15,000 union members.... In Las Vegas, a 67-day strike of hotel workers in a variety of unions did get widespread support to keep all 30,000 strikers eating.... Some long strikes continue—like the one at Phelps-Dodge in Arizona against the one holdout in a general copper settlement, or the lumber strike against the widely-scattered plants of Louisiana-Pacific where 1500 lumber workers have been out since June, when the company refused to go along with the soft industry pattern of three-year contracts with a first-year wage freeze. So there is a national boycott of Louisiana-Pacific lumber, but L-P's president took \$2.8 million in pay for himself last year.

Workers of the world unite! We don't need these vultures running us, and we could make this a very pleasant planet for us all. Otherwise employers are going to engage in a whole lot of what they call "corrective bargaining" as they engage in "greenmail"—shuffling control of production facilities without adding to them, but adding to the bank accounts of at least some of them.

WHY NOT?

The IWW wants you—to join the 1% Club. Donate 1% of your income for operating expenses. Buy press stamps! Give to the Sustaining Fund! Help the *Industrial Worker*! When did your branch last cuss/discuss an article in the *Industrial Worker*? Leave an extra copy of the *Industrial Worker* in the laundromat!

British Coal Strike Rages On

The British coal miners' strike went into its 12th week in June as members of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) protested the State-run National Coal Board (NCB) plan to close as many as 25 money-losing coal pits and "shred" 25,000 jobs.

The strike began March 12th, and half the country's mines closed down the first day. In the Nottinghamshire area in north central England, however, a number of miners in 25 pits questioned the legality of the strike, called by NUM president Arthur Scargill, and decided to keep working till a unionwide strike vote was taken. Other miners in the Nottinghamshire area joined the strike, though the number varies according to the source, the Coal Board saying 3,000 and the union saying 10,000.

Another focal point for union action has been the Orgreave Coking Plant in Sheffield. From May 29th to June 1st, as many as 5,000 striking miners attempted to blockade this plant in the face of a massive display of police power. Hundreds were arrested and scores injured on both sides.

The picket lines of the Nottinghamshire strikers were reinforced by "flying pickets", delegations of strikers from more-solid areas. Mass picket lines of up to 10,000

strikers developed, surrounding the approaches to certain pits. This led to clashes with police and one death, when 24-year-old Yorkshire miner David Jones died from injuries received on the line outside the Ollerton pit.

Meanwhile, local Nottingham union officials declared the strike legal. In Lancashire some 1500 miners who refused to obey the strike call and crossed picket lines to work were suspended from NUM membership for five years. They in turn brought suit against the union, reiterating the charge that the strike was illegal without a strike vote. The NCB seized on this division in the miners' ranks to attempt to generate a back-to-work movement in the North Derbyshire area, but this failed.

The mass picketing in the Nottinghamshire area elicited police repression not seen before in a modern British strike. The State dusted off Victorian legislation to impose bail conditions on arrested strikers that approached house arrest: have no contact with other arrested strikers, obey an 8-pm-to-8-am curfew, report daily to the local police station. Nottinghamshire residents housing flying pickets have been ordered by the police to "get rid of them" or face arrest themselves. The police cordoned off the roads leading to Nottingham to prevent the arrival of more pickets, and the picketers responded by driving

at a snail's pace and blocking traffic on the highways. At the pits, mounted police backed by others in riot gear charged picket lines "to combat intimidation of non-striking miners". To date, 2,164 strikers have been arrested and one has been killed (no tally on the injured).

Unemployment is high in Britain (over 10%), and the chances of the "shred" miners' finding new jobs, not to mention compatibly paying ones, are slim, even with retraining. In nothing is the irrationality of the capitalist system more plainly seen than in the fact that workers must cling to their jobs—even hard, dangerous jobs digging unnecessary coal—rather than face joblessness. Under feudalism, bosses clung to their workers, even chaining them down. In a worker-run society, technical advantages and the development of labor-saving technology would lead to a shortening of the work week so that there would be jobs for all.

plp

(The staff of the *Industrial Worker* wish to thank our British fellow worker I.J. for the clippings he sent about the strike.)

NICARAGUA: Land to the Tiller

(Editor's note: The Industrial Worker Collective takes no position on the Sandinista regime, though certainly opposing all outside interference from governments in the affairs of the Nicaraguan people. The following article expresses the views of the writer.)

by Penny Pixler

(Author's note: In February of 1984, three Chicago women—Penny Pixler, Kathy Taylor, and Hannah Frisch—went to Nicaragua for two weeks to help with the cotton harvest. All told, about 650 North Americans went to Nicaragua under the auspices of the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People in two- and three-week work shifts between January and March of this year, as well as about a thousand Europeans, mostly Germans and Dutch. Everyone paid their own air fare down and back, but room and board were provided in Nicaragua. With 60 other North Americans, we three Chicagoans picked cotton for seven days on an 8,000-acre state farm in northwest Nicaragua, north of the city of Chinandega and the much-mined port of Corinto. During the seven days we weren't picking cotton, we were free to wander around Managua and talk to whoever we wanted. The author of this article speaks almost no Spanish, so much of my material comes from what I have read, including *What Difference Could a Revolution Make?*, by Joseph Collins, and different issues of *Barricada International*, the Sandinista paper.)

Nicaragua is close to the US: "right in our own back yard", if you're used to thinking about other people's property as part of your yard. The flight from Miami to Managua is shorter than the flight from Chicago to Miami, especially if you're on the Nicaraguan national airline and can jet straight over Cuba.

Nicaragua's location has been responsible for the beginning of the country's long entanglement with the US. At the time of the California gold rush, the fastest way west was by boat to Central America, then trekking across the Isthmus at either Panama or Nicaragua and resuming sail. A number of North Americans got as far as Nicaragua and decided the country had its own "get rich quick" possibilities. The most notorious was William "Filibuster" Walker, who, having been invited into the country to help build up the private army of the Liberal Party, declared himself President of Nicaragua in 1857 and tried to have it brought into the US as a slave state. Other North Americans intrigued within the country hoping to secure rights to the site of a possible inter-ocean canal. In 1927 President Calvin Coolidge assured Congress that Mexican Bolsheviks were gaining influence in Nicaragua, and the Marines were sent back into the country even though they had just been withdrawn a year earlier after a 13-year stay.

From the 1920s to the 1940s, Nicaragua's economy was based on coffee exportation. At the start of the coffee boom, Nicaraguan landowners broke up the cattle ranches and traditional haciendas to plant pastures with coffee trees. In the rush to plant, big landowners seized every additional acre they could get their hands on, displacing thousands of peasant campesinos from their land on the fringes of the haciendas. Many refused to leave without a fight, and some 5,000 were massacred.

Land Grabs to Grow Cash Crops

During the 1950s cotton topped coffee as Nicaragua's biggest export. In the big landowners' rush to plant the "white gold", all those who did not have title to the land they farmed were forced out. Campesinos were left with neither land to grow food on or money to buy food with. They could only hang around the cotton farms, working during harvest and half starving the other eight

months of the year, or move to the city barrios and half starve there.

From the early 1950s to the mid-1970s, the proportion of agricultural land used to produce export products like sugar, coffee, cotton, and beef expanded almost 40%. As less food was grown inside the country, those who could afford to import food did so. In 1955 Nicaragua imported 21,000 tons of grain, mostly wheat from the US; and by 1978 the country imported more than 10 times that much. Meanwhile, the incidence of malnutrition doubled between 1965 and 1975, crippling the lives of almost 60% of the children in the country before they were four years old.

Immediately after the Sandinistas overthrew Somoza Debayle's Government on July 19th, 1979, they began trying to reform the brutal export-oriented agricultural system they inherited, which was the base of the country's economy. Decree Number 3 of the Sandinista-led National Government authorized the confiscation of the assets of the Somoza family and its close associates (the "Somocistas"). At first the Sandinistas thought that the

But it was becoming harder and harder to talk campesinos out of seizing land which they felt had been stolen from them under Somoza.

In the spring of 1981, however, the Reagan Administration added a new factor to the debate over land usage when it cut off \$9.8 million in credit for importing US wheat into Nicaragua. The increasing hostility of the Government of the country which was Nicaragua's main source of imported food pointed up the need for Nicaragua to become self-sufficient in food production as quickly as possible. In April the Nicaraguan Government began encouraging small farmers to grow corn and beans, the country's traditional staples, by giving them a guaranteed higher price for these crops. Corn festivals were held across the country to encourage people to eat corn-based foods like tortillas and tamales rather than white wheat bread. On July 19th, the Government enacted a new agrarian-reform law.

The 1981 Agrarian Reform Law was a compromise, trying to disrupt production of export crops as little as possible while maximizing the growth of food crops and avoiding nationalization of more land: The Government had its hands full trying to organize the former Somocista properties into state farms. The Law provided for all land abandoned by owners fleeing the country to be turned over to campesinos to grow food crops on. Idle or under-used land, whether on privately-owned or State



Government now had control of over 60% of the country's agricultural land, but they soon realized that its holdings comprised only 20%, with the rest in private hands.

Many members of the new Government felt that their top priority was to coax the farmers and ranchers who controlled the bulk of the country's farmland back into full production. The money from export crops was desperately needed to import food, medicine, oil, and materials to rebuild the war- and earthquake-torn country, as well as to pay off the \$1.6-billion foreign debt that Somoza had run up and the Sandinistas had assumed in an attempt to placate the US. In 1982 Nicaragua spent 52 cents of every dollar earned from its exports on the repayment of that debt and the interest it had accumulated. Because of the world economic crisis, prices for Nicaragua's basic exports fell while prices of needed imports rose. In 1977 Nicaragua had to export 4.4 tons of coffee to import a tractor; in 1981 the same tractor cost the equivalent of 11.2 tons of coffee.

During the long war of liberation, the Frente Sandinista de Liberacion Nacional had had as its slogan "land to whoever works it". The landless peasants and campesinos wanted land, and organized by the Sandinistas into the Association of Rural Workers (ATC) in 1977, they began takeovers from particularly hated landowners even before the final victory over Somoza. Once Somoza was gone, the ATC demanded that large farms be divided up among the landless. To underline the demand for land, the ATC held marches of 30,000 campesinos through the streets of Managua in 1980. Again, many in the Government feared that subdividing the estates would create thousands of tiny plots too small to produce efficiently.

farms, also was turned over to peasant farmers. The campesinos own the land and can bequeath it, but cannot sell it lest the land again fall into the hands of a few owners. In the meantime the law placed no ceiling on the amount of land an individual could own, as long as the land was kept in full production. A landowner could rent out land, but the rent was fixed by law and the Government kept the option of turning it over to the tenants.

In the first year of the Agrarian Reform Law, 242 properties totaling about 400,000 acres and belonging to 94 families were affected. Over 60% of the land was expropriated because it was judged under-utilized. About 25% had been abandoned by the owners, and the rest had been rented or sharecropped.

The side effects of this and other reform laws have not always been what the Government expected. As the rural landless received their own land or got year-round jobs on state farms, fewer people were available to pick cotton. Furthermore, before the revolution large numbers of migrant workers came from El Salvador and Honduras into Nicaragua for harvest work each year. With CIA-funded war on both borders of the country, the frontiers have been closed, cutting off part of the traditional labor supply. Also, thousands of Nicaraguan farmers have been mobilized (drafted or recruited) into the Military. At the start of this year, about 84,000 cotton pickers were needed and only 43,000 were available. The loss of hand labor could not be made up by bringing in mechanical cotton pickers, as only 207 pickers existed on the whole Pacific coast of the country and there was trouble importing enough spare parts to keep them in operation.

(more to come)

Solidarnosc 1984

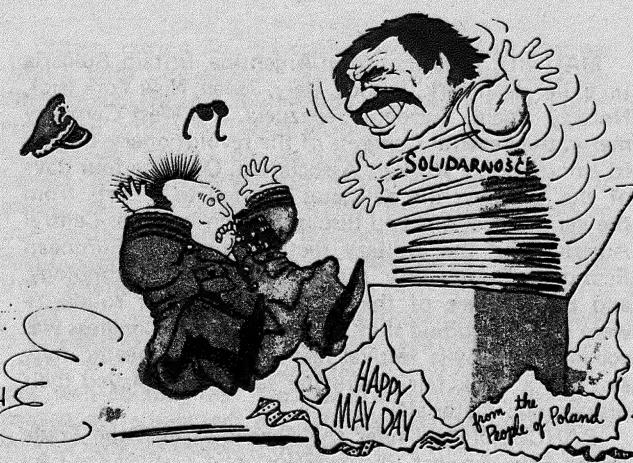
Polish Communist officials in Gdansk "seemed stupefied and went stiff", said witnesses, when Lech Walesa and thousands of Solidarnosc supporters appeared in the middle of the official May Day celebrations. Marchers and sympathizers in the crowds flashed two-fingered "V" signs and shouted "No Freedom Without Solidarity!" Somehow the rebel workers had managed to evade security forces and slip unobserved into the Government parade. At the same time, pro-Solidarnosc demonstrations took place in Czestochowa, Nowa Huta, Szczecin, Warsaw, and Wroclaw. Though the Government dispersed the demonstrators with water cannon, tear gas, and riot police, these demonstrations proved that General Jaruzelski's military regime has not been able to crush the spirit of the Polish workers.

Martial law did not completely destroy Solidarnosc, but did drive it underground. In the place of independent unions, the Communists created new official pro-Government unions. These phony unions have about three million members, of which about one million are retired workers. Prior to the 1981 coup, Solidarnosc had almost 10 million members. Exact figures of Solidarnosc membership today vary from a low figure of 30,000, which includes only the underground, to a high figure of 1.2 million workers who contribute dues and participate in union activities. These figures, however, do not necessarily mean the official unions have more popular support. It is illegal to be a member of Solidarnosc, but members of the "loyal" unions get preferential treatment from employers.

In spite of these obstacles, Solidarnosc is still very much a factor in Polish industry. Last autumn, when the Government announced new price increases, several strikes broke out around the country. These strikes, like others since 1981, were of a wildcat or sitdown nature: short, unexpected, and limited in scope. Polish authorities managed to quell these isolated strikes with selective firings and ZOMO riot squads (the ZOMO are special police forces despised for their brutality). Nevertheless, these scattered strikes and protests have forced the Government to back off on some of its more extreme austerity measures.

Meanwhile, the Polish economy continues to deteriorate. Poland depends heavily on imports for a variety of industrial and consumer needs, yet is having a hard time exporting enough to pay for these imports. Previously Poland had been a big exporter of coal to Western Europe, but there is now a coal glut in West Germany. With the drop in coal prices, the Government has begun to rely more on food exports. This has meant terrible hardships for workers. Food prices have increased dramatically at the same time the Government has kept down wages. The consumption of bread increased by 10% during 1983, indicating a decline in the quality of the average diet and a sign of the growing poverty.

How much of this is due to the Polish junta and how much to the world economic crisis is subject to debate. There are signs, however, that the Polish military bureaucracy are just as inept at running the economy as were their Communist predecessors. In spite of a general food shortage, an investigation of food in storage in 1983 revealed that many items were being stored in humid conditions and allowed to rot. Many factories are underproductive due to a parts shortage. When a Soviet dele-



gation visited the Ursus tractor factory, the management ordered the workers to disassemble tractors and then reassemble them during the tour to impress the Russian visitors. Also, industrial accidents have increased since Solidarnosc was driven underground. On December 1st, 1983, mechanic Krzysztof Mokrzycki was killed trying to change a conveyor belt at the Makoszowy coal mine while the machinery was still in use. The reason for the urgency was an "unannounced" visit to the mine by General Jaruzelski.

The only thing the Polish junta is doing well is the persecution of Solidarnosc supporters. As of February 1984 there were 244 political prisoners in Poland, although a new crackdown since then has doubled this figure. The Polish Government refuses to admit that these are political prisoners, and insists that they are criminals. Polish laws, however, make it a crime to organize strikes, distribute Solidarnosc literature, or carry on union activity outside the Government unions. Most of the Solidarnosc prisoners have been convicted for such activities. There are a few cases, however, in which Solidarnosc supporters have been framed by the police for robberies and sabotage.

The most serious charges against Solidarnosc supporters, those levied against the seven Solidarity leaders and four members of the Workers' Defense Committee (KOR) charged with trying to violently overthrow the Government, are still pending. These charges have become something of an embarrassment to the junta. Internationally, a conviction of these men would be regarded as a moral outrage and would hurt efforts to get Western economic aid for Polish industry. Yet the Russian Communists are equally concerned about letting these rebels go "unpunished". The Polish Government has been trying to get these prisoners to accept a deal. So far the prisoners have turned down this offer.

Another well-known Solidarnosc prisoner at the moment is Anna Walentynowicz. A large part of the credit for the creation of Solidarnosc must go to this courageous woman who was a worker in the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk since 1950 and an activist in the underground free-trade-union movement of the 1970s. In the summer of 1980 she was fired from her job as a crane driver because of her union activities, whereupon the workers in the Shipyard downed their tools and demanded her reinstatement. This action sparked the August general strike that gave birth to Solidarnosc.

Prospects for Japanese Labor

(Editor's note: This is the final installment of a four-part series on the labor-control methods of Japanese management. Written by a rank-and-file postal worker in Japan, this series critiques a practice which is becoming more popular in the United States and other industrialized countries.)

As we have seen in this series, at the most advanced stage of the labor-control system the workers are completely controlled by management through small groups. Their entire lives are linked with the chief goal of management: to increase productivity. The workers think themselves autonomous or independent, but management guides them carefully to the managerial goal, and workers come to think only of the interests of the company.

What are "informal groups in the workplace"? They are a spontaneous form of workers' solidarity. We know that various forms of workers' solidarity have prevented working conditions from worsening. The militancy of the union movement is based on this principle. Therefore the rank-and-file movement has played a decisive role in strong unions.

The managerial tactic of dividing workers into small groups is aimed at undermining the rank-and-file solidarity which is fundamental to the union movement. The interests of management and workers don't coincide. There is an inevitable conflict between the two. Unionism is based on this fact. Workers should demand and exercise complete freedom to pursue union activities at the workplace aimed at representing workers' interests and resolving disputes.

Instead, management gives us small groups and the ideology that it is our common task to increase effi-

cency. This is not "democracy at the work place" in any sense, but totalitarianism at the workplace. Small groups indoctrinated with pro-management attitudes easily generate blind group loyalty to management, and give rise to various pressures against dissidents.

At the Nissan company, for example, dissidents are severely and violently attacked, and harassment occurs every day. Witness the case of Mr. Yagi, a worker at Nissan's Oppama factory. In October 1979 he opposed the dismissal of dissident workers and was violently attacked. Supervisors and their lackeys poured water over him, kicked him, and struck him almost every day. According to his report, the small-group system played an important role in this harassment. At group meetings other workers blamed Mr. Yagi for the low scores of their group, and occasionally deliberate errors were made to upset him. "You make a lot of defects and trouble our group with them," he was told. "That means you should quit the company." The small group became a kangaroo court.

The system of controlling labor by dividing workers into small groups is a serious threat to free and independent unions. Yet union bureaucrats, especially in the private sector, hold a different view. According to them, this system serves to improve the quality of working life and workers' participation. Some bosses say: "It is better than collective bargaining, because collective bargaining serves to achieve only immediate interests."

We should remember, however, that Japanese workers have not even gained "only immediate interests". Low wages, short rest periods, and speed-ups are justified by them under the pretext of the "long-term interests of workers in the market economy"—that is, to help the company beat its competition.

Since martial law was declared in December 1981, Polish authorities have persistently harassed Anna Walentynowicz. First she was placed in an internment camp for several months without trial. In the autumn of 1982 she was arrested for "continuing union activities" and given an 18-month suspended sentence. In December of 1983 she was arrested again along with other Solidarnosc activists, while attempting to put up a plaque commemorating the massacre of the Wujek miners during the 1981 coup. She is presently being held, along with Ewa Tomaszewska and Kazimierz Switon, in the Lubliniec prison.

The prison conditions for the Solidarnosc activists are harsh. The prisoners are frequently harassed and beaten by guards. In Braniewo Prison the cells were left between 50 and 64 degrees during the winter, and the Solidarnosc prisoners were not given heavy clothing. In Barczevo Prison, the Solidarnosc prisoners were divided in an attempt to isolate them. When the prisoners staged a protest in the exercise yard, the guards sprayed them with a fire hose and then attacked them. Under the circumstances, many of the prisoners are ill. A few, like Krzysztof Olszewski and Jas Hermanowicz, have contracted tuberculosis.

The prisoners have fought back as best they can. They have demanded official political-prisoner status, proper medical care, unlimited correspondence, and more frequent visits from their families. There have been hunger strikes and protests in Barczevo, Braniewo, Leczyca, and Strzelin. In Braniewo, when Krzysztof Olszewski was given "hard bed" punishment by the guards, the other prisoners showed their solidarity by throwing off their mattresses and bed linen and also sleeping "hard". The prison authorities retaliated by turning off the heat (it was winter at the time), spoiling the prisoners' food, shaving heads, and withdrawing all cultural and educational facilities.

On some occasions the junta has resorted to murder to silence its critics. At least 69 people have been killed by the police or the army since martial law was declared. In April 1983 Wojciech Cielecki was shot and killed by a soldier. That same month Zbigniew Szymanski was beaten to death by two ZOMO-trained militiamen, who dumped his body in the street behind a bakery. In August 1983 Jack Stefanski, a protest singer, was attacked in Gdansk by two unidentified men. Stefanski died a week later from head injuries suffered during the attack.

The Polish August is long over. Gone are the exciting days when self-management seemed within the workers' reach. As a news commentator put it, the Poles used to think of change as a matter of days, but now they know it will take years. Meanwhile Solidarnosc carries on with grim determination, as if to say "We will never forget."

(Editor's note: Most of the information in this article came from *Voice of Solidarnosc*, 314-320 Gray's Inn Road, London WC1X8DP, UK. If you or your union would like to "adopt" a Polish political prisoner, drop them a line.)

Jeff Stein

SOLIDARNOSC SOLIDARITY FUND SET UP

The General Executive Board of the IWW has voted to raise funds for Solidarnosc members on strike, in prison, or otherwise working to rebuild Solidarnosc. Funds are to be raised through the sale of two-dollar voluntary-assessment stamps to IWW members, and through contributions from others. These funds will be sent to Solidarnosc through the Solidarnosc working group in London or through similarly reliable channels approved by the Board. Send your contributions to the IWW, 3435 North Sheffield, Chicago, Illinois 60657, along with a note stating that they are earmarked for the Solidarnosc Solidarity Fund.

In fact, small groups are comparable to squads in the army. Every effort is made to divest workers of their class consciousness and to infuse them with blind subservience to company policy. It is worth remembering that "National Service Through Industry", one of Matsushita's Seven Spiritual Values, was the name of the militarist government-sponsored patriotic industrial association during World War II, modeled after the Nazi Arbeitsfront, through which degenerate bureaucrats sabotaged and obstructed the true interests of workers and the need to build workers' solidarity. Wake up and see the reality: the miserable state of the Japanese workers.

It is easy to criticize workers' past failures, but difficult to see how we can effectively fight against labor control. At a recent meeting of the Postal Workers Union, a high-ranking official said: "There is no specific antidote against the revitalizing workplace program of the postal ministry." We must undermine and overcome this system of labor control through small groups if we wish to achieve and maintain workers' solidarity on the shop floor. We still don't know how to accomplish this task, but we do know it is most important to revitalize union activities in the workplace.

Fortunately, union activists and others are beginning to study this problem intensively. Some union publications have produced special issues on the labor-control system. Lateness is better than nothing, because the destruction of this system is of vital importance to free and independent union workers.

Eichi Itoh

readers' soap box

NEW APPROACH NEEDED TO COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

Dear Readers:

A definite problem in plants where AFL-CIO affiliation has been attained is that many plant-level officials become very adept at playing the political game. They become very good miniature carbon copies of their upper-level counterparts in the union and the political arena (as in circus). They try to say the right things at the right time (election). They say good things that they profess they will present and "fight" to attain in bargaining.

The problem with collective bargaining is that the concept of company and labor meeting as equals is all very nice, but is too often a joke—a joke that may be funny much of the time to management, and perhaps at times to labor officials, but is too often frustrating to workers and those denied employment.

It is these decades of frustration in not attaining reduced work time and longer rest and recuperation periods, which would result in fuller employment, that can culminate in meaningful gains for labor. When work is determined democratically by us who do it, will not a more logical and humane approach be taken than what is now allowed by those who do not perform the actual labor?

The degree to which contracts conscript workers (as in indentured servitude) is an aspect that we workers need examine for ourselves, as it is quite clear that established union officialdom will continue to regard contracts as sacred, concessions or no. If we are to attain social changes that are to significantly better social conditions for working people and those deprived of work, new approaches and tactics need to be devised by us workers ourselves.

For One Big Union

Joseph Bloe

Literature

BUTTONS AVAILABLE

We've just re-issued two classic IWW buttons. The first reads "For More of the Good Things of Life", the slogan surrounding the Patterson graphic. The second notes "Our Power Lies in Organization: Build Militant Unionism", with the words surrounding three rising fists. Both buttons are black and red on white backgrounds and 1½ inches in diameter; and they cost 75¢ each, with normal quantity discounts available. Get yours now.

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| IWW Preamble and Constitution | .30 |
| Metal Workers' Guide to Health and Safety on the Job | .50 |
| A Quiz on You and the Arms Race | .10 |
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*These items are offered for sale as a convenience to the readers of the IW. They are not official IWW literature, and the union takes no position on their content. The IWW does not engage in direct or indirect alliances with political or anti-political groups or sects.

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

World Labor News

MADRID: Delegates from Argentina, Britain, Bulgaria (in exile), Denmark, France, Italy, Japan, New York (sic), Norway, Spain, Sweden, Venezuela, and West Germany met at the Seventh Congress of the revolutionary-unionist International Workers Association. Over the four days of the Congress the delegates listened to reports from the various sections and discussed such issues as Central America and the military dictatorships, the European Economic Community, nuclear power, new technology, and the advance of the Right. Messages of solidarity were read, including that of the IWW. The Congress was accompanied by a festival featuring films, theater, music, and a book fair where the sections displayed their propaganda materials.

BARCELONA: Under the slogans Against the Trade Union Law, Against Reconversion, and Against the Law of Social Danger (anti-terrorist law), nearly 5,000 workers joined the National Confederation of Labor (CNT: the Spanish section of the International Workers Association) in a May Day rally on May 1st. A smaller rally organized by the CNT-Renovadora, the CNT-AIT (opposition), and the CNT-PP.CC. (a Catalan nationalist group) drew nearly 400 people.

WEST GERMANY: By the end of May as many as 300,000 workers were either on strike or locked out in a struggle for a shorter work week. Spearheaded by the 2.2-million-member IG Metall union, the strike for a 35-hour week (with no cut in pay) is aimed at reducing West Germany's double-digit unemployment rate. True to form, the employers and the Christian Democrats consider the demand outrageous and are blaming the strike on radicals and foreign workers. The strike has affected such giants as Daimler-Benz, Honeywell, and Opel, and there have been short sympathy strikes in municipal transport, printing, and several other industries. Workers throughout the European Economic Community are keeping their eyes on this one.

PERU: Striking civil servants and teachers vowed to continue their strike over pay despite the imposition of a state of emergency on June 9th. In response to the arrest of 50 workers on the first day of martial law, strikers threatened to radicalize the struggle with hunger



strikes and occupations of Government buildings.

HAITI: Thousands of people in Haiti stormed food warehouses and fought police and Ton-ton Macoute gangsters in a week of rebellions beginning on May 21st. On that date as many as 20,000 people in the town of Gonaives attacked food warehouses and the central military barracks, and looted and burned stores and residences of local big shots after a member of the Ton-ton Macoute (a gang formed by the Duvalier regime to act as personal bodyguards) murdered a pregnant woman.

On May 29th the rebellion spread to Cap-Haitien, where crowds attacked a truck convoy transporting pig feed and a CARE food warehouse. Though people are starving, the Government has been more interested in feeding pigs than people; and CARE food, donated for the use of the hungry, has been sold openly by speculators. There are no figures available as to the number of people killed by security forces.

MEXICAN WORKERS get minimum-wage hike: In the first week of June, Mexico's umbrella labor organization, the Labor Congress, dominated by groups affiliated with the country's ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party, agreed to accept a 20% increase in the minimum wage. The Labor Congress had originally asked for a 40% increase, but after what was called an "in-depth analysis" of the economic situation, accepted the Government-offered 20% plus a packet of price freezes. Coupled with a 30% increase granted in January, the year's overall minimum-wage rise is slightly below the expected 55-to-60% rise in inflation this year.

MAURITANIAN UNIONISTS arrested: This spring Amnesty International received word of the arrests of El Koury Ould H'Meity, secretary general of the Union des Travailleurs de Mauritanie (Union of Mauritanian Workers), the country's official and sole trade union; Hamoud Ould Abdi, president of the country's student union; and a number of teachers and journalists. Their current place of detention is not known, and they have not been charged or brought before a court. In March 1980 and March 1982 detainees who had been arrested for political reasons were tortured by being severely beaten or by being stripped and hung upside-down by their feet, and AI fears current detainees may also be ill-treated.

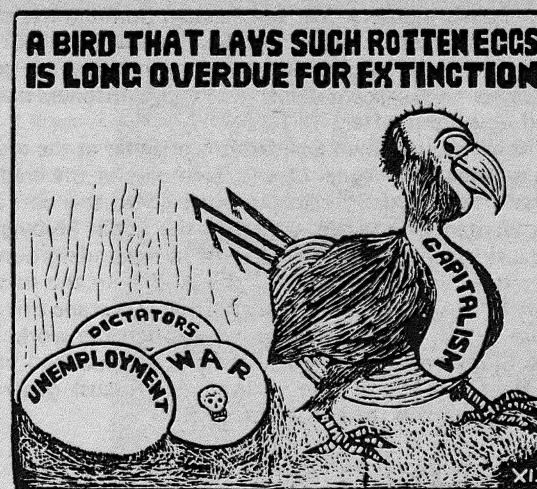
Direct Action

Farm workers in Guariba, Brazil won stunning victories recently, including pay hikes of up to 300%. The strike, carried out by migrant workers, began with workers using huge logs to block the path of trucks carrying workers to nearby cane fields. As confrontations continued, a battle between strikers and police left one worker dead and 50 wounded.

But the strike, the first ever in one of Brazil's richest farming regions, continued. On May 17th strikers began setting fire to cane fields, and plantation and mill owners quickly capitulated. News of the victory spread quickly among cane cutters and orange pickers in the area, and within two weeks almost all had won similar deals, often after no more than brief one-day strikes.

In the midst of Brazil's worst economic crisis in decades, this was the first organized protest against wealthy farmers. Before the strike wages of farm workers had fallen far behind inflation, and the most energetic of cane cutters earned the equivalent of just \$80 a month for ten-hour days and six-day weeks. The situation has been aggravated by Brazil's economic policies, which have forced small farmers off the land so that huge tracts can be turned over to cash-crop production. These cash crops are then exported to pay the interest on Brazil's huge foreign debt, leading to increased poverty and malnutrition for workers.

JB



SILENT AGITATORS AVAILABLE

A limited selection of Silent Agitators is available (while they last) for 2¢ apiece (50¢ minimum, please). In addition to the design above, we have Preambles and stickers reading "Four-Hour Day", "Our Power Lies in Organization", "The Ass", "One Big Union", and "Victory". Our last batch of these stickers, printed on gummed paper, was quickly exhausted, so order now.

LITERATURE DISCOUNT POLICY

Bulk orders of five or more of any item on the IWW literature list, unless otherwise indicated, may be ordered at a 40% discount if orders are prepaid. We offer a 30% discount on similar orders which we must invoice. Postage will be added to all orders that are not prepaid. Please allow three weeks for delivery.

Available from Local Groups and Branches:

From New York City Branch: A Worker's Guide to Direct Action. 50¢. PO Box 183, New York, NY 10028.

From the Tacoma/Olympia Branch: Fellow Union Member. 10¢ ea.; bundles of 5 to 15, 5¢ ea.; 16 to 500, 3¢ ea.; over 500, 2¢ ea. 2115 S Sheridan Ave., Tacoma, WA 98405.

From the San Francisco Branch: Introduction to the IWW. 10¢ ea.; bulk rate 40% discount, paid in advance, 30% of net.) PO Box 40485, San Francisco, CA 94140.

PLEASE SEND ALL ORDERS TO: IWW, 3435 N. SHEFFIELD, SUITE 202, CHICAGO, IL 60657 UNLESS OTHERWISE DESIGNATED.

CORRECTIONS

In the May 1984 issue the title and author of a booklet being reviewed were omitted. The booklet was "Red Fed. Memoirs", by P. H. Hickey. It was republished by the Wellington Media Collective in New Zealand.

Last issue a letter from FW Jeff Stein appeared regarding an article on the problems with "worker ownership" at the Rath Packing Company. Two sentences criticizing the article were deleted, seriously changing the meaning of FW Stein's letter. It is not *Industrial Worker* policy to edit letters or articles so as to change their meaning.

Review: Women & Trade Unions

*Women and Trade Unions
in Eleven Industrialized Countries*
edited by Alice Cook, Arlene Daniels, and Val Lorwin
Temple University Press, 1984, \$34.95 cloth

Reviewed by Jon Bekken

At a time when labor unions are increasingly under attack in most industrialized countries, *Women and Trade Unions* offers a critical view of the backward role of trade and business unions on women's issues.

This anthology, featuring 13 contributions, focuses heavily on labor unions in Western Europe, but also addresses the role of US and Japanese unions. A wealth of information documents the extent to which women are discriminated against in each of the 11 countries examined, and a similar wealth of data is presented to show how women have been excluded from leadership roles and decision-making positions (particularly at the higher and more powerful levels) in the world's business unions.

Most of the contributions present a historical overview of how the present situation developed, arguing that while the current situation is improved, much more must be done before equality is even approached. In all too many cases, the authors argue, business unions have actually acted to impede women's progress. In general, labor unions have played a backward role on women's issues, acting to exclude women from many trades while systematically ignoring such women's issues as child care, maternity benefits and leave, equal pay and employment equality, and the representation of women as union officers.

Despite the book's wealth of data, however, significant problems remain. Throughout most of the articles there is extensive emphasis on legislative action, and labor unions are frequently criticized for preferring to pursue women's issues through collective bargaining and workplace struggles rather than through legislation and the courts. While it is doubtless true, as some of the authors argue, that business unions have used women's issues as bargaining chips to be put on the table and readily conceded (and have, correspondingly, used their preference for addressing these issues through collective bargaining as a means to ensure that they are never satisfactorily addressed), the tendency to rely on the state as some sort of neutral arbiter between labor and capital that pervades this book cannot be justified. Despite the apparently greater ease with which women's issues can be pursued in the legislative arena, issues such as benefits, pay and employment equality, working conditions, and the length of the working day (several authors raise

FAREWELL FELLOW WORKER

Ben Linsky, former secretary of the General Defense Committee (GDC) died in mid-May at his home in Morgantown, West Virginia. He was 72.

In the early 1930s, Fellow Worker Linsky served as Defense Committee secretary during the Detroit auto strikes. He also worked with FWs Joe Brown and Louis Carrick (Burcar) on their 1932-36 "Strike Study Project", a history of the auto workers' organizing movement preceding the bigger drives of the United Auto Workers.

He held a bachelor's degree from Wayne State University and a master's degree in mechanical engineering from the University of Michigan.

In 1977 he retired from West Virginia University, where he'd been a professor of civil engineering since 1963. Prior to that he was director of the San Francisco Bay Area Air Pollution Control District and director of the Smoke Abatement Bureau in Detroit.

He was a lifelong activist in efforts against air pollution. FW Linsky was very active with the Air Pollution Control Association.

Survivors include two daughters, Judy of DC and Betty Rivard of Elmira, West Virginia; a grandchild; one sister, Mary Carrick of Athens, Georgia; and his brother, Herschel, in Prescott, Arizona.

Although he was never a member of the IWW, we should remember Ben Linsky for his work in co-ordinating Defense Committee efforts during the early years of the auto workers' unions in Detroit.

the need for a shorter working day and discuss how some unions have begun responding to this need, particularly in West Germany) can never be satisfactorily resolved except through labor struggles rooted in the workplace and oriented toward the restructuring of society.

Paradoxically, on some occasions business unions are criticized for excessive reliance on legislative action to address these issues (certainly a justified criticism), particularly when legislative channels have proven ineffective even in the short run.

Indicative of the book's limited vision is the fact that literally no attention is paid to the role of radical or revolutionary unions, despite the fact that these have played a major role in many of the countries under examination. Indeed, in one of the countries discussed in this book, an anarcho-syndicalist trade union—the SAC—retains a substantial presence and several thousand members to this day. Yet the authors choose to focus on the role of conservative unions such as the "Christian"—and "Communist"—led federations, and to a lesser extent on the role of moderate unions such as those led by various social-democratic parties. This limited vision inescapably narrows the possible approaches to be examined, and sidesteps much of the richest history of women's participation in the labor movement. In the entire book, there is not a single reference to any radical labor union.

The closest thing to a radical analysis in this book can be found in the introductory and concluding essays, especially the latter. In the conclusion, Arlene Daniels argues that:

Historically, unions have contributed to the problems facing women at work. They have allied themselves with employers in pushing women out of better-paying, skilled work ... issues affecting women were demoted to a low place on all agendas. (Page 313)

She goes on to discuss the tendency of labor unions to relegate women's issues to the political arena, except when they involve working conditions, and argues that in their treatment of women labor unions tend to mirror society. She concludes by discussing the potential for new leadership to spring from the rank and file which will concretely address women's issues, arguing that this will benefit men as well as women workers.

This is a useful book that you should encourage your library to obtain (few workers will be able to afford the \$34.95 price tag). It contains a wealth of information, and while somewhat dry in its presentation is quite accessible. While its analysis is often weak, failing to seriously consider the need to transform society and the role that revolutionary unions must play in achieving this goal, it is one of the best pieces of work available in the field. As such, it deserves to be read.

IWW Directory



NORTH AMERICA

ALASKA: Anchorage: Ruth Sheridan, Delegate, 4704 Kenai, Anchorage, Alaska 99508. Juneau/Douglas IWW, Barry Roderick, Delegate, PO Box 748, Douglas, Alaska 99824. Fairbanks: Chris White, Delegate, Box 72938, Fairbanks, Alaska 99707.

BRITISH COLUMBIA: Vancouver IWW, Box 34334, Station D, Vancouver, BC V6J 4P3 Canada, (604) 430-6605.

CALIFORNIA: Little River: Industrial Union 130, c/o Graham, PO Box 302, Little River, California 95456. San Diego, Sandra Dutky, Delegate, 4472 Georgia, San Diego, California 92116, (619) 296-9966. San Francisco Bay Area General Membership Branch, PO Box 40485, San Francisco, California 94140. Oakland: Richard Ellington, Delegate, 6448 Irwin Court, Oakland, California 94609, (415) 658-0293.

FLORIDA: Fred Hansen, Box 824, New Port Richey, Florida 33552.

GEORGIA: Elton Manzione, Delegate, 729 Pulaski, Athens, Georgia 30603, (404) 353-1218.

IDAHO: IWW Delegate, Route 1, Box 137, Potlach, Idaho 83855.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana IWW, Jeff Stein, Delegate, 1007 North Randolph, Champaign, Illinois 61820. Chicago General Membership Branch, IWW, 3435 North Sheffield, Suite 202, Chicago, Illinois 60657, (312) 549-5045. Meetings first Wednesday of each month, 7:30 pm.

INDIANA: IWW Delegate, PO Box E-206, Richmond, Indiana 47374.

KANSAS: Lawrence: Jovan Weismiller, Delegate, 917 Ohio, Apartment A, Lawrence, Kansas 66044.

KENTUCKY: Louisville IWW Group, c/o Long, 1841 Sherwood, Apartment 2, Louisville, Kentucky 40205, (502) 456-4377. Meetings fourth Sunday of each month, 4 pm.

LOUISIANA: Alexandria IWW Hall, 710 Bolton, Alexandria, Louisiana 71301. General Defense Committee, Arthur J. Miller, Secretary, PO Box 52282, New Orleans, Louisiana 70152.

MANITOBA: "Haywire Brack", Delegate, 486 Wardlaw, Winnipeg, Manitoba R3L OM1 Canada, (204) 475-8824.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston General Membership Branch, PO Box 454, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139. Meetings first Sunday of each month, 522-7090 or 625-5107. Western Massachusetts IWW Delegate, PO Box 157, Deerfield, Massachusetts 01373.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor/Detroit General Membership Branch, c/o Kaufmann, 42 South Summit, Ypsilanti, Michigan 48197. Copper County: Robin Oye, Delegate, PO Box 392, Hancock, Michigan 49930. Grand Rapids: IWW Delegate, 415 Ethel, Grand Rapids, Michigan 49506. People's Whereshouse IU 660 Branch, c/o Kozura, 2237 Shadowood, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104. University Cellar IU 660 Job Branch, 341 West Liberty, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48107.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis/Saint Paul IWW, Nancy Arthur Collins, Delegate, 1621 Marchall (3), Saint Paul, Minnesota 55104.

MONTANA: Clark Fork Valley IWW, PO Box 8562, Missoula, Montana 59807, (406) 728-6053. Thompson Falls: A. L. Nurse, Delegate, Route 5, Box 88, Thompson Falls, Montana 59874, (406) 827-3238.

NEW MEXICO: New Mexico General Membership Branch, PO Box 4872, Albuquerque, New Mexico 87196.

NEW YORK: Buffalo: Henry Pfaff, Delegate, 77 Eckhert, Buffalo, New York 14207, (716) 877-6073. Central New York General Membership Branch, c/o McKown, 1121 Westcott, Syracuse, New York 13210. New York City General Membership Branch, PO Box 183, New York, New York 10028. Rego Park: Jackie Panish, Delegate, 99-12 65th Road (5-J), Rego Park, New York 11374, (212) 799-9190.

OHIO: IWW Delegate, PO Box 26381, Dayton, Ohio 45426.

ONTARIO: Bruan Burch, Delegate, 13 Kerr Road, Station 30, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

PENNSYLVANIA: Tom Hill, Delegate, 5023 Cedar, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19143.

SOUTH CAROLINA: Harbinger Publications, IU 450 Job Shop, 18 Bluff Road, Columbia, South Carolina 29201, (803) 254-9398.

TEXAS: Austin: Andrew Lee, Delegate, 3402 Enfield (B), Austin, Texas 78703, (512) 472-7854. Houston: Gilbert Mers, Delegate, 7031 Kernel, Houston, Texas 77087, (713) 921-0877.

WASHINGTON: Bellingham General Membership Branch, PO Box 1386, Bellingham, Washington 98227, (206) 671-5209. Meetings third Sunday of each month, 6:30 pm. Seattle General Membership Branch, 3238 33rd Avenue South, Seattle, Washington 98144. Tacoma/Olympia General Membership Branch, 2115 South Sheridan, Tacoma, Washington 98405, (206) 272-8119.

WISCONSIN: Madison General Membership Branch and General Defense Committee Local 9, c/o 432 Sidney, Madison, Wisconsin 53703.

PACIFIC

GUAM: Guam IWW Group, Shelby Shapiro, Delegate, PO Box 864, Agana, Guam 96910.

AUSTRALIA: IWW Sidney Office, 417 King Street, 1st Floor, Newton, Sidney, Australia.

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Getting Around...

(continued from Page 1)

Workers in these parts, with some help from the local IWW member, recently set up a sewing co-op, after the big company pulled out. Sixty folks got together, purchased sewing machines and a workspace, and now run their own show. Some other workers are trying to get a bottling plant co-op going. The Fellow Worker at one time went to Highlander Folk School in Tennessee to learn about organizing, and he's written a book about the School.

I'd now been on the road a dozen days, and gotten well into the sunny South: sunburn country for this Yankee webfoot. I stayed off the interstate, and the rides were often shorter, but constant. Later, on the freeways, I'd have to wait hours for a ride. A long one with a fatherly 20-year Army lifer got me into South Carolina: first time I'd ever seen palmettos. My trip reminded him of one of his own, 30 years before, out to San Francisco and back. We talked about the military and the Central America situation. He's afraid the US Military will go in there next year—"when all the dummies re-elect Reagan".

He dropped me off in Myrtle Beach, South Carolina, a giant resort center. Six miles of McDonald's, miniature golf courses, and motels. Period. I spent the night on the Atlantic beach, but didn't get much sleep: 10,000 motorcycles were in town for the annual convention.

The next day, in Columbia, I met all of the Fellow Workers at Harbinger Publications. These Wobs rent a two-story building in a poor neighborhood of laid-off textile workers. They have a print shop and offices upstairs, and a couple of bedrooms. Downstairs is the GROW Cafe (for "Grass Roots Organizing Workshop"). The Harbinger folks are well known for their participation in radical activities, primarily revolving around the Savannah River bomb plant and the KKK. They'd run the Cafe as a community watering hole, but some folks came to hassle the "reds" and make a ruckus, so they had to close down except for an occasional fundraiser.

They print a monthly paper, *Harbinger*. Recent issues have dealt with the Coors boycott (the scab beer just appeared in the South last year) and the recent acquittal of the KKK/Nazi thugs who gunned down the Greensboro CWP marchers in 1978. The Wobs are renovating a group of houses in Columbia for co-op housing, and a four-acre community garden had just been plowed. They're also painting an IWW emblem on the side of

their building. One of these FWs also said he'd probably come west for the apple harvest.

Well, I got a ride out of Columbia with an organizer for the Pipefitters. We saw eye-to-eye on the roots of the economic disaster, and he advocated the One Big Union approach, a la Solidarnosc and the IWW. He took a copy of the *Industrial Worker* with great interest. (So did several others I met. The "Arms Race Quiz" pamphlet was also a popular item.)

I made quick time into Georgia with a couple of Marines on leave, and got to Athens with a couple married 20 years who'd just sold their wedding rings for gasoline. They were fleeing the lousy orange harvest for a possible roofing job there. In Athens, a big college town, I stayed with FW Louis Carrick, who joined the IWW back in the '30s during the Union's drive at the Briggs plant in Detroit. He rejoined the IWW about five years back "to be a part of the movement". He got together with a few



MAY DAY, MINNEAPOLIS, 1984

These members of the IWW carried their sign reading Solidarity in four languages in the annual May Day parade. Other members of the Union distributed a historical leaflet about May Day along the parade route and at a park gathering afterward.

(photo by FW McDaniels)

DID YOU NOTICE?

WEST GERMAN ARMS: West Germany has become the fifth-largest supplier of arms to the Third World, selling to more than 72 developing nations. The trend began, under Helmut Schmidt's government, with increasing relaxation of the 35-year-old law against weapon exports to areas of conflict.

TROUBLE WITH SWEDEN'S new worker stock fund: Sweden's controversial new worker-stock-fund program—meant to bolster employment, help strengthen the economy, and increase union participation in running companies—is becoming unpopular even with trade-union members. Each of five independent regional funds is supposed to get about \$50 million in capital annually until 1990 from two sources: a 20% tax on company profits of more than about \$62,000 and a worker-pension-fund contribution of up to .5%. The funds use the money to buy shares of Swedish and foreign companies on the Stockholm Stock Exchange and loan risk capital to industry. The Government is now asking the Swedish workers to keep their wage demands down as a quid pro quo for the funds, but the unions are refusing. They point out that workers must wait at least until the buying phase of the plan ends in 1990 for their dividends, while Swedish companies are making record profits and receiving loans partly contributed by workers.

TELL US WHAT'S WRONG and what's right: Reverend Jerry Falwell had some advice for America's work force in a recent radio broadcast. Labor unions, he suggested, should study the Bible more instead of asking for more money. "When people get right with God, they are better workers," he added.

WOMEN LIBRARIANS FIGHT wage discrimination: The Fairfax County (Virginia) Public Library Employees Association is suing the Fairfax Civil Service Commission for discrimination in wages under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. Librarians are 80 to 85% female, and entry-level jobs require a master's degree. Yet male-dominated jobs, which may require only a BA and similar work experience, are paid an average of a thousand dollars more a year. The discrepancies in pay increase as librarians climb up the career ladder.

WHEN ASKED ABOUT THE VIOLENCE in which over the last three years 35,000 people have disappeared, 20,000 have been killed, and 45,000 have been exiled, General Oscar Mejia Victores, Guatemala's head of state, replied: "The violence is doing fine. It's something folkloric in our country." Presidential spokesperson Ramon Zelaya Carrillo added that one of the causes of the violence has been the country's climate and high temperatures.

NORTHERN IRELAND teachers strike: In late May about 13,000 members of the two largest teachers' un-

ions in the six counties of Northern Ireland, the INTO and the National Association of Schoolmasters/Union of Women Teachers (NAS/UWT), held a half-day strike to demonstrate their dissatisfaction over current pay levels. Since then the teachers have been refusing to supervise school meals during their lunch breaks. Though technically meal supervision is not part of the teachers' duties, they have generally assumed this responsibility. In a possible attempt to set the parents and the unions representing the kitchen staffs against the teachers, meal service has been withdrawn from schools in several areas.

US WOMEN MORE DISSATISFIED with conditions than ever: This spring MS magazine commissioned Louis Harris and Associates to administer a nationwide opinion poll, and compared the results with those of a poll taken by Harris a dozen years ago. In 1970, women opposed efforts to strengthen women's rights by a small plurality of 42% to 40%. Today, 59% of women say it is "very important" to strengthen women's rights. In 1971, only 52% of women thought women often didn't receive equal pay for equal work. In 1984, 74% have discovered this inequity. In the mid-70s, 41% of women believed women were discriminated against with respect to being able to earn enough to support themselves. In 1984, 58% think this is true. Breaking the results down still further, 79% of black women in 1984 believe that women do not get the same pay as men for doing exactly the same job, compared to 74% of white women, 59% of black men, and 64% of white men.

IRISH POLICE BREAK RANKS SIT-IN: The year-long occupation of the Ranks flour mill at Philiboro, County Dublin, by 14 members of Irish Transport and General Workers Union Branch Number 12 ended May 24th when a force of 200 gardai (police) and 10 sheriff's deputies smashed the front door of the mill and forcibly removed the occupiers. The 30 members of the striking workers' families who also occupied the mill had left earlier. The evicted workers and their families and supporters immediately began to picket the mill. One member of the strikers' occupation committee, Harry Fleming, was jailed on a contempt-of-court charge, and 16 other people were arrested in a protest march demanding his release.

The occupation of the Ranks mill began in January 1983, when it was closed with huge job losses after the British-based company decided to import flour into Ireland. The gardai were believed to have cleared the mill at the behest of a prospective buyer.

PHILIPPINE PRESIDENT Ferdinand Marcos discussed the growing numbers of women demonstrating against his regime. "I don't want to have anything to do with them. I have enough problems with men. One rule

other Wobs in the '30s or '40s and wrote a historical account of the union movement in Detroit's auto industry. Another Wob in Athens, FW Manzione, is a Vietnam vet and a sparkplug in the vets' movement.

I put in a long day crossing Tennessee and Kentucky, but pulled into Louisville well before dark. Here I met the small IWW group in town. As at all other stops, we had a gathering and discussed things: Should the IWW affiliate with the IWA? What would you like to discuss at convention? What are local IWW prospects? Do the local Wobs intend to support the General Defense Committee?

And, of course, we talked about politics, work conditions, Central America, and food. In Louisville, one FW is trying to keep track of his Bakery, Confectionery, and Tobacco Workers local at the tobacco plant where he works. Another wants to get Wobbly teachers in contact with each other (write to the Louisville, Kentucky IWW: see the directory). They plan a renewed effort to increase *Industrial Worker* circulation in town, and are making plans for a conference of Wobs in Indiana, Kentucky, and Ohio this summer.

My last planned stop was Dayton, Ohio. Being the only Wob in town can be a lonely experience. The man there, a floor-covering installer working his way through college, really appreciated the visit, and as a result has a new understanding of who we are, as individuals and as a union. He's also initiated efforts to get Ohio Wobs together into a membership group.

The long three-day leg from Ohio to Massachusetts was a drag. Interstate-highway hitching can be so frustrating, as thousands of cars rush by and the occupants usually smile and wave or roll up their windows as they pass. Or the driver will raise his hands helplessly: "The car is not programmed to stop here. I'm helpless. Sorry, guy." The truck stops were no better. I managed to stay ahead of the big storm that brought floods to the eastern US in late May, but got soaked the last few hours out.

Now, after three weeks on the road, I can say I've put some names and faces together, and made new friends. Some Wobs had their first opportunity to talk issues with an "outside" member. The folks I met with are hard-working, generous people. They were intensely interested to know what's going on around the Union. A few had thought about traveling around, and now they probably will. We can expect new faces at convention, and fresh activity from these scattered Wob groups.

A couple will hopefully travel all the way across to Columbia River apple country to lend a hand to those who will be planting organizing seeds. Many I met are marginally employed, and thoroughly alienated from this society. All were encouraged by my trip: There's nothing like face-to-face contact.

This summer I'll be visiting Wobs in British Columbia, California, Oregon, and Washington. Maybe Idaho, too. Stay tuned for the report.

Dave Tucker

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3435 N. Sheffield Avenue
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TO:

that I have adopted: You don't see any women on my staff. I am not a male chauvinist. I like pretty women. I admire beauty, as you can see though the way I married. But I would rather have nothing to do with the neurotic women of today. They are so neurotic they don't know what they want. They don't even know whether to look beautiful or to be male reformers, and that certainly makes for a strange animal." On the contrary, Philippine women increasingly know what they want: Marcos's departure from public life.



GUATEMALAN UNIONIST LEAVES SAFELY

On March 15th Amnesty International USA got an urgent call that an injured Guatemalan unionist, Alvaro Rene Sosa Ramos, was hospitalized in critical condition and might be in further danger because his assailants planned to abduct him from the hospital. Sosa was attacked by armed and hooded men during his transfer from the prison where he had been held incommunicado since his arrest for union activities. Despite wounds in his shoulder and abdomen he was able to flee to a nearby foreign embassy, where the embassy staff chased away the assailants and got him admitted to a private hospital.

Amnesty International members in the US called their Spanish-speaking contacts, asking them to call the Guatemalan hospital and Minister of Health to express their concern for Sosa's well-being. Thanks to AI's intervention, arrangements were made to allow him to leave the country.